00087

c. 1969/10/28

Cease fire

~~Why~~

~~Summit~~

This is the truth. (Flo Dwyer)

Leg Leaders
Oct 28

To those who want a cease fire
we have offered to negotiate ~~[illegible]~~
supervised cease fire —

① S. V. Nam has agreed to negotiate
a cease fire —

The Enemy refuses to discuss the subject

Some suggest we should order a
cease fire regardless of what enemy
does —

1. This I shall not do —
2. as Commander in Chief I shall ~~not then~~ order Americans to cease while the enemy continues to fire.
3. It would endanger American forces — to order them ~~to not~~ to stop firing while the enemy is free to
4. ~~I shall not~~ I shall take risks for peace — but I cannot (as C in C) + will not ask American men to ~~cease fire~~ — ~~cease fire~~ risk their lives — by cease firing — when the enemy continues to fire —

Hence we changed the policy of Prev Adm / not play politics with peace —
what ~~our [illegible]~~, ~~the~~ has
happened in negotiation
what ~~[illegible]~~ we
plan to do

~~This~~ For years Americans have been confused —
~~[illegible]~~ divided — to ~~are~~

① Some of this confusion + division
due to the ~~lack of~~
disagreement on the facts

② It is time to know the facts —

Honestly ① why we went V. Nam —

② what our goals are —

③ what ~~our choices are~~

④ what are the prospects.

why we are there
what ~~our choices are~~
~~[illegible]~~
what the situation
actually is in
Paris — in V Nam
~~[illegible]~~

what
has happened in Paris
has happened in V. Nam

Some just don't believe the Adm.
~~your [illegible]~~

— Shall report.

But the question I faced in Jan — & the one we face today is: ~~what would~~ now that we are in the war what is the best way to end it?

1. Faced with that question — ~~I rejected~~ ~~then &~~ I could only conclude that a that an ~~[illegible]~~ immediate withdrawal of all Am forces ~~to accept defeat~~ would be disaster for the cause of peace it was supposed to serve.

~~would be the effect of such an~~ ~~immediate withdrawal~~ — not only for S. V. Nam but for the U.S. & the cause of peace. Such a withdrawal was designed to serve —

~~disaster not only for S. V. Nam but U.S. as well~~

For S. V. Nam — our ~~haste~~ withdrawal before they are prepared to take over their own defense — would mean a ~~repet~~ repetition

For the U.S. ~~it~~ This first defeat in our history would result in a collapse of confidence in U.S. not only in Asia but throughout the world

For the future of peace it ~~would~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~be a dangerous~~ ~~[illegible]~~ war vindication of those who advocate ~~[illegible]~~ as an instrument of ~~[illegible]~~ as their means to impose their way:

ODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

~~But~~

~~But this did not mean that we continued~~
~~the~~

~~I decided that~~

~~I decided that a complete change~~

~~I decided that~~

I chose instead to change our policy
in V. Nam from a war policy to a Peace policy.
~~and to seek a just peace in~~ this
~~complex~~ In a war fought on many fronts
~~by I began a pursuit~~
I ~~am~~ initiated a pursuit for peace
on many fronts —

1. at the Paris Conference - in 38 ~~confer~~.
public conferences — we have presented ~~on our [illegible]~~
2. In ~~a~~ Speech of May 14, before the U.N.
~~[illegible]~~ & on a number of public occasions —
~~we~~ we have set forth

Not limited.

~~On In addition~~

There has been no response by them from Hanoi to these public proposals.

1. This ~~means that th~~ is refuse to discuss our proposals -
2. They demand that war end on their terms that we withdraw all American ~~troops~~ forces immediately & that we overthrow the govt of S. V. Nam as we leave -
3. They have responded to our public words of moderation with insults.

We however have ~~refused to be discouraged~~ ~~continued & our search~~ been deterred by these public insults -

① From long experience I know that a long & bitter wars like this one cannot & will not be settled ~~by~~ in public forum -

② That is why in addition to these ~~public~~ public statements & ~~negotiations~~ I have explored every possible private avenue that might lead to a settlement.

③ The American people are entitled to know how diligent our search for peace. I tonight take the unprecedented step of for first time disclosing some of the initiatives for peace ~~we~~ we have ~~taken~~ undertaken & ~~in private~~

① in ~~pri~~ secrecy because we thought that might open a door which publicly would be closed -

① Before my inauguration, through an individual who was directly in contact on a personal basis with the leader of N. V. Nam -

III

To understand the consequences of immediate or precipitate withdrawal of Amer forces from V. Nam, we must go back & see how Amer became involved in the war ~~in the~~ 5 years ago:

1. We did not start the war —
2. N. V. Nam, ~~in violation of treaty agreements~~ ~~[illegible]~~ with the logistical support of U.S.S.R. & Communist China tried to impose a Communist govt ~~[illegible] take over~~ S. V. Nam ~~by [illegible] [illegible] them~~ by ~~supp~~ instigating & ~~[illegible]~~ supporting a revolution. ~~[illegible] in the South.~~
~~3. The govt The govt of S. V. Nam asked~~
~~3. The U.S. responded to a request~~
3. In response to the ~~[illegible]~~ request of the govt of S. V. Nam — the U.S. sent first arms & then troops to help prevent the Communist takeover
4. We did not then or now seek bases in S. V. Nam, ~~or to~~ or the ~~[illegible]~~ conquest of N. V. Nam. ②
② our limited aim was to provide the people of S. V. Nam the right choose their own govt without any outside interference —

~~We can dis~~
~~Many disa~~
~~Many disagree with that the decision~~
Many believe the decision to ~~commit~~ send Amer men to S. V. Nam
~~[illegible] was wrong.~~

~~Many~~
~~We can~~ Many ~~believe~~ ~~(including myself)~~ disagree ~~d~~ with the way the war has been conducted.
~~But the choice I faced in January~~ ~~question I had to face~~ &
the ~~choice~~ issue we face ~~today is~~ this:
now that ~~we are in [illegible]~~ we are in Viet Nam
~~how do we end the war?~~

Wilson - peace - ~~Kept~~ WW He kept us out of war -] both died -
F.D.R. - a peace candidate -
H.S.T. - split his party - so that S. Korea is free of Communists
Ike - ended war
K- ~~[illegible]~~ Capitulation -

Conclusion:

The choice is clear:

1. I do not offer ~~an~~ an easy way -

✓ (a. ~~Destroying~~ N. V. Nam - would not win the peace - The key is S. V. Nam strengthened to point they can defend selves -

2 I do not offer easy way - get out -

3. I offer the right way: end war win peace

① ~~②~~ Vietnamization

② Negotiation -

✓ You determine the latter -

① I know ~~many~~ some want defeat "Loss in V. Nam"

② Majority for Peace -

united for Peace
united against defeat

~~②~~ ③ Dissent - but do so - America is united behind a reasonable offer - We shall not be defeated

whether I win or lose does not matter
whether Peace + freedom survives does -

Time for great silent majority to speak up for America - to speak up for [illegible]

~~② [illegible]~~ -

① 1/2 million - ~~Hoo~~ Poll / 70 - of all the

② others are silent -

policy will not be made in streets
It will affect every-
Win up

~~② If they~~

① Let them know - End the War - Win Peace

③ There is ~~another voice~~ -

The war will not be an issue in 72 -
It may not be in 70 -

our fighting men ~~can~~ can't be defeated
S. V. Nam will not break -
The question is - will America break -

✓ (History will record that we met the Test of greatness.

I won't predict, give a timetable -
It will not be a issue in 72 -
For great majority not an issue in 70 - (Regardless of [illegible] table)

First a political point:

① Nothing I want more –

② Could have avoided blame –

③ Effect would be to increase danger of war –

a. Why are we there? – supported by Soviet & China.
① N. V. Nam – tries to take over South
② U.S. helps S. V. Nam defend self –
③ If they succeed:

We can disagree with that decision –
we can disagree with conduct – (would
But now we are there – used more power –

There is no easy way:

It is a clear choice –
① accept defeat – humiliation
② or end the war by our plan –
③ Cease Fire – (Both offered) on 5 occasions – Thieu on Oct 4
① They refuse –
② Coalition? –
① We have offered right to supervise coalition
elections – to run as a party –
to accept results –
② We say only that S. V. Nam people shall choose –
③ If imposed – a defeat – & soon Commies take over

A major change in policy:
① American furnish arms + men to help others
② We should keep our treaties – we bring a shield –
If a major power –
③ We shall help others with arms – a people who will not defend selves – can't be defended –
④ But our goal is to help others ~~but~~ fight their war – not fight for them.
⑤ It strengthens them – the other policy keeps them weak –

Negotiation – if at all – depends on U.S. support
① ~~If~~ Regardless of Negotiation we should end the war –
② It ~~would~~ could end sooner with support
Not more offers by us but by ~~them~~ is the need

On occasion [illegible] U.S. [illegible]
✓